

# PEACE NEWS

No. 480 August 24, 1945 2d.

## PEACE AND FREEDOM

### Two aspects of one issue

THERE are two mighty issues now about to be resolved in the political fabric of the world. One is: Total War or Total Peace? The other: Communism or Democratic Socialism? I believe, and believe I could prove, that Total War and Communism on the one hand, and Total Peace and Democratic Socialism on the other, go together and are involved in one another. The issue is really one: Totalitarianism or the Free Society?

If Totalitarianism triumphs it will be through total war, because the totalitarian society is inherently the war-making society. If the Free society wins, it will be through total peace, because total peace cannot be maintained except by the creation of a free society of nations.

Anyhow, it is by reference to this master-pattern that the significance of day-to-day events must be interpreted: the clash between the Communists and the National Government in China, the drive to incorporate the Socialists and the Communists in Italy, the resistance to the same drive in France, the trial of Democratic Socialism that is now to be made by general consent in Britain, still the key political country of the world.

And over all hangs the atom-bomb—for a brief period in the hands of the Free societies, perhaps discovered by them because they were free: the symbol of the advent of a new and more terrible, or a new and more blessed, epoch of human history.

#### The hopeful side

POSSIBLY because I find it difficult to despair of humanity at large, I cherish the thought that the large-scale behaviour of mankind during the last thirty years, which has been so appalling, is not really characteristic of it. After all, it is a commonplace that in September, 1939, the great majority of Britons, Frenchmen, Germans and Poles, did not want war: and if they had really controlled their destinies they would have avoided it.

Moreover, I still think that after the last war, in 1919, President Wilson's effort to create a true society of nations corresponded, pretty deeply, with the aspiration of mankind. It proved, in the event, that mankind, organized as it was in egoistic and anarchical nation-states, was not prepared to pay the price of the new society of nations which was Wilson's dream. He was repudiated, first and foremost by his own nation. But in being ignorant of the price of realizing its own good intention, and unwilling to pay it, when it was known, mankind at large was not very different from the individual man.

#### Reluctant to submit

NOW the need of collective security is immeasurably more urgent than it was in 1919. But instead of moving further towards the goal set by Wilson, the United Nations retreated from it at San Francisco. Whereas America and Britain had apparently advanced towards acceptance of Wilson's idea, the new great Power of Russia had moved away from it. Not unnaturally: first, because its experience of the League of Nations had been disappointing, but secondly, because it had, in its own development, by-passed the essential idea of democracy, which was the foundation of the Wilson idea.

Russian insistence on the veto-power reduced the San Francisco Charter to a mere "legalization" of the existing international anarchy. It placed the Great Powers outside and beyond the law.

Whether USA and Britain were really anxious to submit themselves to a common law may be doubtful: but it is probably true that, if Russia had not insisted, USA and Britain would have been forced to give way by the moral pressure of the smaller nations.

#### A world-authority

THAT is how things stood two months ago. Now, quite suddenly, the whole human perspective has been changed. As the King's Speech put it:

"The devastating new weapon which Science has now placed in the hands of

### Observer's Commentary

humanity should bring home to all the lesson that the nations of the world must abolish recourse to war or perish by mutual destruction."

That means that unless this power is taken exclusively into the hands of the appointed authority of a world-society of nations, there is no escape from world-destruction.

Whether we conceive this appointed authority as actually wielding the coercive power of the atom-bomb, or whether we conceive it, as an authority appointed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, it comes in fact to the same thing. There must be an effective world-authority controlling the manufacture and the use of this deadly instrument.

#### Consent or compulsion

SINCE it is utterly impracticable, as well as utterly undesirable to forbid further research into the liberation and control of atomic energy: since, further, it is now manifest to all that industrial potential is war-potential, it is plain that, if the human race is to avoid entire catastrophe, the whole process of liberating atomic energy must be put under the control of an authority acting for mankind as a whole.

The creation of this world-authority is the crux. It would be by far the best if it could be created by general consent. But created it must be. If not by consent, then by compulsion. But these alternatives are not so stark as they seem. Compulsion can be, and is, operative on different levels.

Long before actual violence is used comes the overt threat of violence; long before that the implied threat; long before that the knowledge that the implied threat is possible. And even between these stages are many gradations. When I feel the strong impulse "to take the Law into my own hands" and hit a manifest wrong-doer, yet refrain because he will have the law of me, do I refrain by external or internal compulsion? These are not logical subtleties: they are the very substance of human action.

#### Power and authority

TO set up a hard and fast distinction between action by compulsion and action by consent;

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

## The atomic bomb

### "Wishful thinking" about its peace-time application :: The problem of control

by GORDON ROGERS, Ph.D.

(of the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge)

THIS article is written as the result of a request for a description of the atomic bomb from the technical point of view. Much has appeared in the Press on this subject, and there is not a great deal to add. It is useful, however, to run through the technical details, as they enable one to form a clear answer to the various technical reasons given for producing the bomb. Moreover, we shall never overcome war until we thoroughly understand it.

Under laboratory conditions atomic disintegration does not lead to disastrous results. The specimen, containing many of a given type of atom, is bombarded with literally millions of fast-moving atomic projectiles, produced in a special machine. The vast majority dissipate their energy knocking chips off the outside of the atoms, producing no permanent damage. Anything from half a dozen to half a hundred may, however, secure a "direct hit" on a very small interior region of the atom, called the nucleus, which is split up into fragments.

This is generally the end of the process, since the products generally differ from the initial projectiles and so do not produce further disintegrations. Even if they were the same, the chances of producing a direct hit are so small that the likelihood of a chain of disintegrations more than two atoms long is completely negligible.

#### An unusual result

The reaction of neutrons with a Uranium atom of mass 235 units is unusual in several particulars. One neutron falls on an atom of U 235 and produces among other things two neutrons. Neutrons, being uncharged atomic projectiles, do not affect the outer layers of the atoms through which they pass, but go on until they hit a fresh nucleus, or until they pass out of the mass of U 235.

Provided, therefore, a large enough mass of U 235 is obtained to absorb all the neutrons formed in it, a single neutron will go on doubling up until astronomical figures have been reached. In the meantime tremendous energy is released.

In the atomic bomb, about 10,000,000,000,000,000,000 atoms are split.

#### Wishful thinking

It will be noted that an atomic explosion, to propagate itself, must be of a minimum size, and Sir Charles Darwin revealed that the present bomb is of the minimum size.

Thus any ideas the creators may have had that this U 235 reaction would have any controllable peace-time application was the wildest wishful thinking. It is necessary to state this quite plainly to show the degree of distortion to which they had to resort in order to square their own consciences.

The technical possibilities of control have also some interest. Control through the sources of raw materials offers a temporary prospect of success. The ores are fairly well distributed over the earth's surface, but the bulk of them are in Canada, Belgian Congo, and possibly Russia. The discussion, however, is likely to be rendered academic at any time by the discovery of other atomic reactions of an explosive nature.

Control through knowledge at either the academic or industrial level

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE.)

## EMERGENCY MASS MEETING

THE situation created by the atomic bomb has led the National Peace Council to hold an emergency mass meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday next (Aug. 31) at 7 p.m.

The theme of the meeting will be "World unity or world destruction?"

At the time we went to press the final details were not available, but we understand the speakers are likely to include Sir John Boyd Orr, FRS, MP (the new President of the NPC), the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. E. W. Barnes), Dame Sybil Thorndike, Dr. C. E. M. Joad, and the Rev. Henry Carter.

Tickets for reserved seats (1s. each) can be obtained direct from the Central Hall—not the NPC.

Owing to the speed with which the meeting has had to be arranged, the help of sympathetic organizations and individuals in making it known is urgently needed.

Anyone who can help by displaying a poster or distributing handbills during the coming week, or can offer voluntary assistance at the NPC office during the same period, should immediately notify John Lamming at the National Peace Council, 144, Southampton Row, W.C.1 (Phone: Terminus 5570). He will also be glad to receive offers from individuals prepared to act as stewards at the meeting.

#### CHURCHMEN SPEAK OUT

THE use of the atomic bomb in the last week of the war has provoked outspoken comment from churchmen outside the ranks of the known pacifists.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Fisher) called it "a terrible and shocking reminder that war is an unclean business" at a thanksgiving service in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday. None could touch war, he said, "even in a righteous cause, even to defend, as we have had to defend, the sanctities of human life, without defilement."

The Deans of St. Albans (the very Rev. C. C. Thicknesse) declined to hold a thanksgiving service in St. Albans Cathedral on VJ-Day as a protest against the use of the bomb. He conducted the official civic service of thanksgiving in the cathedral on Sunday, when the Bishop of St. Albans (the Right Rev. Philip Lloyd) said in his sermon that the bomb meant destruction beyond what our cause warranted or justified.

Afterwards the Dean faced a barrage of questions at a mass public meeting in the abbey orchard and defended his action on VJ-Day. At the end of the meeting the most persistent heckler congratulated the Dean "on having the courage to face us after your action."

The Rector of Claxby and Normanby-le-Wold, Lines. (the Rev. Austin Lee) refused to hold thanksgiving services in his two churches on Sunday. In his sermons he deplored the use to which the bomb was put.

"I am profoundly sorry that we should have stooped so low at the end, and that we have tried to hush ourselves into a lot of plausible arguments," said the Bishop of Sheffield (Dr. L. S. Hunter) at Sheffield Cathedral on Sunday.



# WHAT OUR READERS ARE SAYING

**UNFORTUNATELY** it is not possible to publish an adequate selection of readers' letters each week. At the moment, however, both

the quantity and quality of such contributions merit the allocation of the bulk of this page to a readers' forum, an arrangement which we hope to repeat on alternate weeks.

## The third course

**EVEN** before the beginning of the Atomic Age, it seemed to me that "non-violent" resistance was of merely academic interest, and about as relevant to stopping war as the pike is to waging it. For it is evident that the problem facing mankind is that of seeing to it that war is, in future, prevented altogether. The advent of the "atomic bomb" has underscored that, and we need waste no further time on abstractions.

There are three courses open to the Anglo-American peoples by which they can attempt to outlaw war. First, to conceal as long as possible the secret of releasing atomic power, and to threaten the use of the "atomic bomb" against anyone or any nation out to break the Pax Anglo-Americana. This way, though it would work for a time, would be ultimately disastrous, for obvious reasons.

Second, to attempt, through the World Security Council, to create an international police force which alone would manufacture and control the "atomic bomb." This policy is advocated by the New Statesman in the issue of Aug. 11. "If the place, or places, in which atomic bombs are made," says the editor, "come under the control of the combined military staffs of Britain, Russia and

America—that is, the promised coercive instrument of the Security Council—then it will really be true that the members of the Security will have individually given up the right and the capacity to wage private wars."

Though this is based on unwarranted optimism, and contains within it the seeds of an international totalitarianism beside which all previous state organizations would be remembered as havens of individual liberty, I do not think we should go out of our way to oppose efforts in this direction. For the success of such an organization, as well as ultimate success in outlawing war, if it is not now too late, depends on the third course. That is, the closing of the gap between scientific ingenuity and morality. Therefore, there must be the most supreme endeavour to arouse the conscience of mankind against the use of the "atomic bomb" in any circumstance.

The first step in that direction, the absolutely necessary step, is the utter condemnation of the Allied Governments for their use of this method of warfare. And this condemnation must come from the people of America and Britain. Unless there is an immediate and overwhelming outcry from this country against the murderous bombardment of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the conscience of mankind will be blunted irrevocably, the precedent accepted, and the hope of that necessary moral control of atomic energy dimmed for ever.

There is a general feeling, though it is

inarticulate, that at least a grave blunder was committed when Hiroshima was attacked with this weapon, and on our efforts to formulate and organize that instinctive revulsion and protest almost everything may depend.

CONAN NICHOLAS,

Hammonds, Loughton, near Lewes.

## Slave-holders

**WE** seem in urgent need of a statement, supported by trustworthy reports from press, B.B.C., and our correspondents in Germany, such as may drive home, especially to the many humane and freedom-loving supporters of the Labour Government, the terrifying way in which we are in grave danger of allowing ourselves as a nation to become, for an indefinite number of years, a corporation of *slave-holders*, exploiting, for compensation and profit, millions of broken and bewildered, largely homeless and destitute Germans (some 6 or 7 millions of these "slaves" being herded in by Poles, Russians and Czechs into what may well become a land of overcrowded, festering slums), often enforcing evictions from home or other hardships upon Nazis and anti-Nazis alike with little or no right of redress, and keeping them all on the bare minimum of food and of other necessities, with scanty recreational or cultural facilities, and so on. And these "slaves" of ours will be living among those pestilential, dead cities, those "abominations of desolation" which are the monuments of our supreme war effort, the products of our technical master-pieces.

The slave-holding nations, may well in the end be punished by the laws of the moral universe even more than the enslaved nations, from amongst whom rather than from amongst us there may well arise in time the prophets and apostles of Christ's gospel for whom our world is waiting. Many of those returning home here from Germany will surely feel as strongly as we can do as to this abomination of conquest.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE,

20 St. Catherine's Road,  
Bromley, Kent.

## Pacifist methods

**YOUR** correspondent, Lillian Grundy, asks some practical questions, although some of her assumptions appear to me to be very ill-founded and based largely on the too ready acceptance of ordinary war propaganda. Can it really be claimed that the conditions in concentration camps and the persecution of Jews, etc.,—conditions which became far more serious in many cases as the direct result of the war—were worse than the appalling suffering and moral evil which the war itself has inflicted upon an infinitely larger number of people? What does she mean when she speaks of the German aim as being European "domination"? If virtual conquest of Europe and the setting-up of an active Gestapo in every country, what reliable evidence has she that this was ever Germany's intention? What evidence also has she that the scope of Nazi cruelties would have increased without war, when it is fear—and war is the greatest of all promoters of fear—which most commonly makes governments cruel?

With regard to the methods of a pacifist government if such a government were in power, in dealing with the oppressions of a totalitarian state, I should say that some of the most important would be endeavours to find out the good qualities, if any, of the principal totalitarian rulers, and efforts to encourage those qualities, in various ways, at the expense of their bad ones. Efforts also to win the good-will of the people as well as the Government of the totalitarian country, by practical offers of help, particularly in the economic field, could usefully be combined with the setting of our own house in order so that we could show a striking example of a country which could achieve all the virtues and efficiency of the totalitarian State without its tyranny and militarism. Finally, if need existed, a refuge could be provided for the victims of the totalitarian government, for whom special sympathy was felt.

If we assume the worst of the dictator, the very fact of our obvious willingness to show friendship to him and his country, as far as we rightly could, would place a powerful diplomatic weapon in our hands. No dictator, however autocratic, likes to cut a sorry figure in the eyes of his people, and from fear of appearing a rogue and needless tyrant, if from no higher motive, he could often be manoeuvred into such a position as would induce him to behave with more leniency towards those whose interests we had at heart. Hope of further practical economic help for his country might also induce him to meet our wishes, far more than he would have been likely to do if we had adopted from the start an attitude of coldly hostile criticism, accompanied by a "patriotic" blindness to the faults in our own regime.

These admittedly difficult though right policies, pacifists by inclination, and our non-pacifist government by necessity, will now, as a result of unconditional surrender, have unlimited scope for trying when dealing with Soviet Russia! The conditions, I am afraid, are likely to be less favourable, for the Soviet Government is now much more powerful than the German Government ever was, and is

probably less ready to appreciate our offers of friendship. Russia, too, stands in far less need of our practical help, on account of her vast internal resources.

BEDFORD,

Cairnmore, Newton Stewart, Scotland.

## Germans as criminals

**"OBSERVER"** need not be unduly disturbed at offending Soviet admirers, and unquestionably he is correct in seeing totalitarianism as the enemy of the human person, but what seems to escape notice is that totalitarianism is the perfectly logical development of nationalism and it is the latter that has been for generations subordinating the individual to State supremacy.

And it is deplorable that "Observer" should approve of "Germans being treated as criminals for years to come," even if by Germans he means Nazis—unless he is prepared to schedule patriotic nationalism as a crime, but even so, Nazis did not invent it. Like other war-based governments, they utilized it for power politics and were prepared (like Asquith) to "stick at nothing" in winning a war, but they were genuine believers in it, whereas probably Stalin and Co. are not.

JOHN NIBB,

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

Observer writes: It is necessary to point out that I did not "approve" of the Germans being treated as criminals. Far from it, I regard it as an outrage. I simply said: "I will acquiesce" in it, and insisted that criminals have human rights, which are now being deliberately violated.

## Freedom and violence

**I** too, consider that Mr. Murry's article in "Peace News" of June 22nd, was extremely cogent. I trust that Mr. Murry will in a subsequent article give his own answer to the challenge that he throws out to all pacifists to think their way bravely through the dark jungle of modern reality.

The correspondence which has since appeared has shown various reflections on the original article but, rather surprisingly to my mind, I have seen no comments on Mr. Murry's deductions regarding the efficacy or otherwise of non-violent resistance in European countries. Personally I do not think that Mr. Murry carried the matter to its logical conclusion and therefore his first thoughts may not have been so irrelevant as his second thoughts suggest.

I would make the following points:

(a) It is illogical to expect any country to adopt an attitude of non-violent resistance whilst its allies are continuing to fight by armed warfare. Only when all armed resistance ceases, can we tell whether other resistance will continue and, if so, what form it will take.

(b) It follows, therefore, that to say that France, for example, eschewed non-violent resistance does not mean very much. What is important, is to try and assess what would have been the attitude of France, or any other country for that matter, if Great Britain had also been overcome in 1940 and the armed resistance against Germany ended. Moreover it is in such a situation that pacifists should be ready to take the lead; at this stage their role would be transformed from a negative to a positive one.

(c) A further interesting line of thought is what would have been the effect on Germany, if she had obtained world domination. Again Germany is taken only as an example, a similar position would arise if any one power were so placed. Firstly I think one is justified in assuming that the awful urge to invent more and more terrifying weapons of wholesale destruction would cease and at long last the prostitution of science for the purposes of military conquest would be at an end. That in itself would be a momentous change, and it is symptomatic of the whole change there would be in emphasis in both conquering and conquered countries. The world power, having obtained its objective, would of necessity have to seek another. What might that be? Perhaps the betterment of the people of the world, perhaps their further enslavement. But in any case their part would be the same, to win their freedom; of necessity they would have to do this by non-violent means.

Finally I would add that in my opinion the above considerations are far from being matters of academic interest only. Unless there are fundamental changes in the outlook of the nations of western civilization, a third world war will inevitably come. If so, and if any regulated life survives, it would seem that at the end there will be world domination by one power or group of powers. That at least would be the logical outcome of the development of the machine age. In one way it would be the nadir; in another it would be the starting point from which nations and individuals within the nations would have to gain their freedom, and gain it by non-violent means. In the long struggle that would ensue it might be that man's moral sense would develop sufficiently for him to use rightly the physical resources now at his command.

D. M. SHERWOOD,

5 Beech Close, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.

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should be addressed to the Manager

## End - and beginning?

**IT** is characteristic of the time in which we live that the ending of the world war passed practically unnoticed in our last issue. One sentence on the Japanese surrender was all we could spare for it. That was perhaps enough. The real struggle is only beginning.

We may well ask ourselves whether humanity has gained one iota of peace and happiness by the overwhelming victory of the "United Nations" over the Germans and Japanese. Is it more secure? Has it any greater expectation of peace? Is the reign of Law any nearer establishment now that the "outlaws" have been reduced to impotence and misery? Is the cynicism that governs international relations one whit diminished by a grand finale which includes the declaration of war by Russia upon Japan to whom it was bound by a treaty of peace, and the annihilation of a half-million Japanese by two explosions of the atom-bomb?

No, there is nothing in this of which a sane man could be proud or a sane nation rejoice. If it be regarded as a kind of terrible surgical operation which mankind as a whole had to endure, we must ask ourselves whether the patient shows any signs of recovery.

None are yet visible. The injustice of the Potsdam peace-settlement is as great as that of pre-war Europe. Germany treated no nation whom it conquered with the ferocity with which the United Nations have treated conquered Germany. The one exception to this generalization is the Jews. Since four millions of them have been annihilated, the remnant should be manageable. Yet what are the chances that the wanderers will be allowed a home? Persecution of the Jews makes good propaganda; but justice to the Jews makes bad politics.

To speak in such circumstances of a victory of good over evil is plain blasphemy. It is just plausible to speak of the defeat of a greater evil by a lesser one. The only honourable way of regarding this chapter of human history is to look upon it as a universal calamity. The only chari-

table way is to see in it the consequences of a universal failure to establish peace between Man and the Machine; a universal collapse of human morality before the revolutionary challenge of the vast increase in the physical energy at its disposal.

Seen from this angle, the chapter ends with a new discovery of a source of energy as revolutionary in respect to what has gone before, as the previous sources of energy were to the human muscle that preceded them. World War I was the war of coal; World War II the war of oil; World War III will be the war of the atom—if World War III comes.

Humanity has failed, miserably, catastrophically, at the successive challenge of Coal and Oil. Will it fail at the challenge of the Atom? That is the question.

It will certainly fail if Humanity cannot see itself as Humanity—as unity and community. This conception has been partially realized in past history—under the Roman Empire, and under mediæval Christendom. In the former it was imposed by main force, in the latter by a religious idea. When it was imposed by main force, the religious vacuum was the weakness; when by a religious idea, the political anarchy was the weakness.

Now the need is infinitely more urgent than ever before. The new energy can be controlled if harmony is established between the two conflicting semi-religious, semi-political ideas of today: the idea of Democracy (which is the solution of conflict by peaceful legal means), and the idea of Communism. Either they will be reconciled, or they will fight it out, with the atom-bomb.

For a precarious, transitory moment, the new power is with the democratic idea. Can Russia accept the democratic idea—making a beginning at the highest level? In other words, can Russia become one of a unity of Great Powers obedient to a common will? Can all the Great Powers together surrender their claim to anarchy, and become simply the custodians of the police-power which the world, on those terms, will gladly entrust to them?



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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## NON-VIOLENCE: A NEW ASSESSMENT

THE recent series of articles and letters following upon the review of "The Yogi and the Commissar" has demonstrated at least two things: (1) that within the PPU there is still a profound belief in the efficacy of non-violence; and (2) that even among those who most strongly advocate its use on a mass scale, there is still a need for the clarification of ideas and a general reassessment of its effectiveness.

Obviously, this re-examination of what has been assumed to be a fundamental element in pacifist activity can only be carried out provided there is an adequate knowledge of the history, theory and practice of non-violent movements throughout the world. Consequently, it has been the function so far of the PPU Non-violence Committee to instigate research into various struggles of a non-military character, so that each can be assessed against its political, religious and economic background. This work has already produced material of interest to those who are anxious to study the subject.

The Committee is now particularly concerned, however, to concentrate on an investigation of material relevant to the Gandhian approach, to which most of the movement has given its greatest attention so far. "Germany and Non-violence" and "The British People Stopped a War" are two of the more recent publications of the committee, and other pieces of research now proceeding include an investigation into the Sinn Fein movement, the resistance of the German churches, the history of the British working classes between the two wars, and the relationship between non-violence and Christianity. Translation of Bart de Ligt's "La Paix Creatrice" is also well in hand.

A non-violence reading-list, which contains a list of material published to date, is available from Dick Sheppard House, and we urge groups to make use of the catalogue to study the subject more closely.

BERNARD TAYLOR.

# THE LAST VICTORY

From a leader in The Times, Aug. 16:

Public opinion, though in some degree confused in its first reactions to a literally shattering event, has emphatically registered its universal and instant sense that a revolution in human affairs has occurred, confronting the world with stark and urgent problems, on which it behoves every man to search his conscience and make up his mind. With the explosion of the first atomic bomb in Hiroshima the world moved for good or ill into an age of new and uncharted forces. There is no way back to the era of steam and electricity, of tanks and guns. This defeat of Germany and Japan is in a most grim sense the last victory.

Nations can no longer look forward

to victory as the prize of successful war; the outbreak of another war will be in itself the final defeat of civilized man. Ravage and ruin beyond imagination must be the fate of all who engage in it. So far as human foresight can divine, the powers of destruction have now gone beyond the possibility of defence. Henceforth the quest for security can place no more reliance upon the hope of providing that, should war break out, at least the just cause shall prevail; it must be made impossible for war to begin, or else mankind perishes.

This time Nature offers her alternatives with a choice more than ever plain—the loss more sure, the positive gain more patent. "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." It is a time for courage and solemn resolve that must be sustained through the years.

Humanity stakes its life upon its ability to prove itself worthy of its material achievement. The intellect, the skill, the organizing power have already been made visible. Nothing is lacking to a well-found craft—except the rudder. And nothing can provide it save vision, purpose, faith. . . . A huge opportunity—accompanied by the huge risk which is the condition of all opportunity—opens from this moment before the feet of man.

## 5,000 C.O.s jailed in America

In an analysis of conscientious objection in the U.S. Time (July 30) points out that the Selective Service Act requires any CO to oppose "participation in war in any form" by reason of "religious training and belief."

"Many thousands" of American pacifists have been assigned to non-combatant service in the Army, 8,426 to Civilian Public Service camps and special service projects and "some 5,000 to prison (including penicillin-research chemist Donald De Vault, who refused to do the work assigned to him in a CO camp).

## Christian Party's demand

At its annual conference, held last month, at which delegates from Wales and all parts of England were present, the Christian Party passed unanimously three emergency resolutions, asking the new Government to (1) call a world convention to draw up a world agreement to end military conscription; (2) abolish the Means Test; (3) annul the Trade Disputes Act.

Norman Robbins, Christian Party Chairman, in welcoming Councillor John Dempsey, a Party member who had put up a courageous but unsuccessful fight at Kettering as a Christian Independent candidate, called the £150 deposit an undemocratic fine. It was decided to launch at once a £1,000 Election Fund.

**NEXT WEEK'S**  
**Peace News will be a**  
**SIX-PAGE ISSUE**

## U.S. WORKERS WILL TIGHTEN THEIR BELTS

AMERICAN workers are willing to tighten their belts, if by so doing they can prevent starvation in Europe, the Monthly Labour Survey of the American Federation of Labour asserted last month. "As American workers," the AFL paper says, "we are willing to tighten our belts so that workers in Europe may be kept alive. We can spare enough to save Europe without any danger of under-nourishment though we may have less of some foods than we like. We are willing to share the vital, strength-giving foods—milk, eggs, meat, fats—with the liberated people of Europe."

## Learie Constantine on the West Indies

Learie Constantine, the famous West Indian cricketer, writes on "The people of the West Indies" in an article which begins in the summer number of New Vision, the quarterly review devoted to freedom for subject peoples. Other contributions include "The problem of food" by Dinah Stock, "Racial discrimination in the United States" by Douglas Rogers, and poems by Stanley De Zoysa and Walter E. Hawkins. New Vision is obtainable from 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1, price 9d.

## THE OTHER NUCLEUS

IN "A Confession of Faith in War-Time," Stephen Hobhouse sets forth the mystical Christianity, which is the basis of his own uncompromising pacifism. His prognosis for the future is sombre.

"Unless in this age of unprecedented crisis all spiritually minded men and women begin at last to learn to 'love' their enemies, to will the welfare and redemption of all, of even those who by their cruelty and pride and degradation are most deeply sundered from them . . . the human race will rapidly descend, for long years to come, into one of the very darkest periods of its chequered history."

The hope of the future, he thinks, lies not in Governments or Parliaments, "but rather in the enlightening and healing work of comparatively small associations of penitent Christians and others, who will form in the midst of disintegrating civiliza-

tion centres of spiritual conservation and growth ready to serve as nuclei of a fairer world order after the forces of power-politics have exhausted themselves in internecine strife."

It may be so: and some of us have acted on the assumption that it will be so, but not entirely without the hope that the "blood-stained and impenitent governments" may be moved from their callous lethargy. Perhaps Stephen Hobhouse is not sufficiently mindful of the magnitude and revolutionary novelty of the problem that humanity (so fundamentally conservative) has been required to solve. However that may be, here is an essay which is a theme for deep meditation. It is published by The Society of Friends Peace Committee (6d.).

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RUTH FRY BANNED! Vera Brittain: "Drift to Death"; Poetry: Ronald Mallone: "Parliament's Problems"; Ifold Rendall: "Open Letter to Peter Howard"; Duke of Bedford: "Money and War." "Christian Party News-Letter," 5d. (six issues 2/6).

THE BIBLE said that Palestine wd. remain desolate for centuries until the return of the Jews. This is being fulfilled before your eyes. For further evidence of the Bible's accuracy write for "Vox Dei" free fm. Christadelphians, -67a, Cold harbour Lane, Hayes, Middx.

### MEETINGS, &c.

MAURICE ROWNTREE Memorial Raffle arranged by North London Region, Sun. Aug. 26. Train fm. Kings Cross 9.24 or Gordon Hill 9.58 to Hertford North (10.20). Please bring sandwich lunch. Tea booked. All welcome.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST: Sun., Sept. 2, Rev. Owen H. Butler. "Over There—Europe as I saw it." 8.30, Friends' Meeting House.

### LONDON AREA

Get-together, Kingsway Hall, Mon. Aug. 27 (not 25, as in August News-letter), to meet the new organizer, Roger Page. Music, conjuring, talk, light refreshments, fm. 6.30, free for all. In Aug. 1939, at Kingsway Hall, we sought fellowship under shadow of war. In Aug. 1945, we seek fellowship in planning the future. Please come.

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, Selly Oak Friends' Meeting House, Sept. 2, 3 p.m. "The Attainment of Peace, Tactics and Strategy." Coun. Albert Bradbeer.

ATOMIC BOMB! Emergency mass meeting, Central Hall, Westminster, Fri., Aug. 31, 7 p.m. National Peace Council. See details elsewhere in this issue.

### PERSONAL

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LONELY? Join International Friendship Club, 3 Tanfield Terrace, Leeds, 2, to meet and correspond with people of similar tastes.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

PACIFIST SERVICE Units have vacancies for men and women. Family casework, youth work and neighbourhood welfare work. Unusual oppor. for experimental social service. Apply PSU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

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end of Sept. State fees reqd. and whether desire to use own car. Dr. J. E. Jones, 109 South Norwood Hill, London, S.E.25.

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## THE SUPREME ISSUE

### 'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

between action through fear and action through love — is false to the reality of human action: and palpably false to the history of civil society. Religion is much more faithful to the human verity, when it says "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," than the ethical abstractionism which sets an absolute gulf between action by compulsion and action by consent.

Imposed discipline is necessary to childhood; if it is a wise discipline, it is instinctively felt by the child, and consciously recognized by the grown man, as the necessary condition of freedom. So in the actual history of the civil society of peace. The reign of law and order begins with the assumption by a single authority of the monopoly of coercive power.

Men have not in fact ever consciously surrendered their own power to the State; they have obeyed an authority which existed independently of them. Their subsequent effort is gradually to humanize and make responsible an authority which in its origins is despotic—in the sense that the authority of the father of a family is despotic. Does a child obey its father by compulsion or consent?

### Need for realism

NOTHING could be more ill-advised than that pacifists should dissociate themselves on grounds of ethical perfectionism from the effort that will and must be made to control the use of atomic energy by a single authority.

This is a matter in which the commonest man can see that "any order is better than none." To refuse to support "any order" because it is not the best is merely to reinforce the inertia of anarchy. To work for the best possible order is entirely necessary; but it must be the best that is possible, not some abstract optimum.

A best that may be possible is that a genuine parliament of all the nations should confer the authority to control the use of atomic energy upon a council of Great Powers responsible to itself. If this is possible, pacifists should advocate it with all the passion and persuasiveness they can command. But if that is impossible, let them be content with a temporary arrangement which may grow into that. *Le mieux c'est l'ennemi du bien*: perfection may be the enemy of the good.

Let them never forget, for one moment, that the one thing needful is effective control of the use of atomic energy. The form of control is a minor matter compared with the reality of control. True, it makes a great difference whether that control is genuinely international, or exercised by a Big One, or Two, or Three. But even that great difference is relatively unimportant compared to the fact of control.

### An end of war

FOR any sort of control will give humanity the breathing-space necessary to adjust itself to the new world into which it has suddenly been thrust. Any sort of real control means the abolition of international war. However it comes, pacifists must surely welcome that. Or are they to become fantastic figures who reject the abolition of war, because it does not come about in the way they think best? With such pacifism the commonsense of mankind will have no patience at all. It will be entirely divorced from the main stream of human aspiration.

Pacifists, no less than the rest of humanity, have been thrust into a new world, to which their minds and imaginations, as much as others', need to adjust themselves. The new world is one in which individual resistance to international war may quite well become an anachronism, and pacifists will be called to fulfil new tasks. They need not fear that there will not be plenty of them.

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## ATOMICBOMB

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

is also of limited possibility. All the principles, including the mode of separation of U 235, are well known to scientists the world over. The facts may be kept secret, but will be discovered independently by anyone interested. The speed with which they are rediscovered will depend primarily on how much money the interested parties are prepared to sink into the project. It is not likely to be insignificant.

There are two levels at which control would have been effective. The first would have been self-control on the part of the scientists concerned, to make a real study of the moral issues before they started. Then they should have retained these forces and the decision to use them in their own hands. It seems clear from Mr. Churchill's recent statement that the creators of the bomb were quite happy to let this Frankenstein Monster pass out of their control into the tender keeping of politicians and chiefs of staff.

### The control we need

Were it an improved pea-shooter it would not have been a matter of great practical importance: but with such great destructive powers, more than ordinary care should have been taken, and humanity will not hold guiltless those scientists who have consented to this tremendous abdication of their own moral responsibility. If, however, it turns out that they did retain a power of veto over its use, they will have to explain why the first "sample" was dropped on a city of 300,000 inhabitants.

The only remaining step for practical control is control of the human heart. We must look into the face of this evil, and read there the desperate wickedness of all humanity separated from God, and return in penitence to our Maker.

### Niemoller's record

**TO THE EDITOR**  
I FEEL obliged, as a German pacifist emigre, to suggest that British pacifists before supporting Niemoller and his "Confessional Church" should inform themselves about him by reading his autobiography "From U-boat to Pulpit," written as late as 1934 (London, 1936), especially pages 9, 56f, 151, 174ff, 187f. Niemoller is a violent militarist. He retired from military service in 1918, because, as he says: "with the abolition of conscription an officer's career had no further attraction for me." Whilst studying theology in Munster he was one of the organisers of the Organisation Escherich, a nationalist terror organisation which was one of the main nuclei of the SS, SA and Gestapo. Even after he became a Deacon he wanted to take a ship with illegal munitions to the Turks (then at war with Greece).

He hated the German Republic and democracy and became an ardent Nazi and supporter of Hitler. At the outbreak of this war he offered his military services to the Nazis from out of the concentration camp (see Karl Barth in "The Christian Century," May 6, 1940). In the "church-struggle" he and his "Confessional Church" did not fight Nazism and its terror as such, but only demanded a quiet corner in which to practice confessions and rites. In the concentration camp he was in a privileged position, because he was backed by the officer caste. He himself now admitted that he "had never quarrelled with Hitler on political grounds," that "Germany could have his body but not his soul," and he says that he did not know anything about Nazi terror and that he still wants an authoritarian regime for Germany ("News Chronicle," June 6, and the other newspapers).

**Dr. DIEDRICH MEYER-KLUGEL,**  
Pastor of the Reformed Church,  
Northfield, Birmingham, 31.

## PACIFISM IN THE THEATRE

THERE are to be seen in London currently two "anti-war" entertainments that have, by reason of their artistic merit, survived the flood of events that has drowned the hundreds of sentimental quasi-pacifist pieces that blossomed between the wars. One is the French film "La Grande Illusion," at the Academy Cinema; the other the ballet "The Green Table" in the Jooss repertory at the Winter Garden.

Jean Renoir's film portrays brilliantly emotions which were particular to the last war, but essential to all war; the currents of comradeship, class-consciousness, love, fear, pride and envy which sway men in a collective emergency. It is anti-war only by implication, in that it shows love

## A U.S. marine on C.O.s

In a letter about conscientious objectors sent to the Chicago Daily News recently, a 1st Lieutenant in the US Marines wrote:

"NICE people; they should all be taken out and hanged," retorted Mr. Alfred Prowitt of your paper referring to the conscientious objectors based at a camp near Germfask, Michigan. This brilliant remark was made while Mr. Karl Olson, a former Germfask internee, and myself were involved in a discussion with Mr. Prowitt regarding a series of articles he was writing about the so-called incorrigibles at this northern Michigan camp.

What are we fighting the war for? What are so many of our comrades dying for? Freedom we're told! The Bill of Rights in our Constitution and the Four Freedoms guarantee all men the rights of freedom of speech and religion. Yet when a small body of men practise these two inalienable rights they are placed in a semi-concentration camp where they are subjected to attacks in the papers by brave armchair patriots and associates of a Hitler-type yellow journalism.

For my own part I naturally do not agree with the conscientious objector at all, being a Marine of over three-and-a-half years' service, two of which were spent in the Pacific, and firmly impregnated with the fact that the Marines are the best soldiers in the world. However, I am very definitely of the opinion that any man has the right to believe anything he wants to and not be persecuted for practising those beliefs.

### Pacifist guinea-pigs

IN Minneapolis, 35 COs (conscientious objectors) have been voluntarily starving for six months. Under the watchful eyes of four religious service committees (Brethren, Quaker, Mennonite and Unitarian), these "human guinea-pigs" of some ten denominations have lived in the South Tower of the University of Minnesota stadium, undergoing scientific experiments in semi-starvation. This week they were starting a three-month build-up, the final stage in a year's programme. Purpose: to determine the physical and mental effects of starvation on normally healthy men from 19 to 33, and to find ways of best utilizing food from the limited resources available for the starving populations of war-stricken countries.

The Minnesota study is one of several experiments being performed with COs under the US Office of Scientific Research and Development and the US Surgeon General's Office. Over 300 other COs have volunteered for a wide variety of special projects "to help science save lives." In New Hampshire a group of 35 did road work for three-week stretches in louse-infested clothes, to permit studies which played a part in the development of DDT, the powder which saved bombed Naples from a typhus epidemic. Five other COs spent days on a life raft off Cape Cod, to determine, among other things, the effects of drinking sea water under shipwreck conditions.

The guinea-pig experiments represent only a small part of the overall programme of Civilian Public Service camps and special service units. Over 4,000 men from C.P.S. are engaged in other special projects, the most effective of which is work with inmates of public mental hospitals.

—Time, July 30.

## GOODBYE TO ALL THAT?

THE abolition of man-power control in Australia and Canada, announced on Aug. 18, leads naturally to the question as to how far "personal services" are to be regulated in Britain now that the war against Japan is over, particularly in regard to the continuance of Regulation 58A, under which men and women are directed to work.

The White Paper on Re-Allocation of Man-Power between Civilian Employments (Cmd. 6568; November, 1944) claimed that it was essential that the Government should during the interim period possess this power in the background but that it was hoped to dispense with its use completely at an early date.

The "interim period" has now concluded.

According to an announcement from Chungking on Aug. 16, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has suspended further conscription in China.

### C.O.'s advisory bureaux

**CHORLEY WOOD** (Herts.): individual adviser now Stanley W. Randolph, 56 The Main Way, Chorley Wood.  
**HARPENDEN** (Herts.): Herbert Rowntree no longer individual adviser.  
**WORCESTER**: now H. S. A. Smith, 24 Athelstan Road, Worcester.  
**BRIGHOUSE** (Yorks.): now Mrs. Eileen Lander, Bank House, Brighouse.

## V-J DAY

Quo vadis, rejoicing world? Integrated are you, or split By the atom Man? (Whose soul, We once thought, was the core of it.)

—PHYLLIS VALLANCE.

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### Words of Peace - No. 139

It is always easier to fight for one's principles than to live up to them.

—ALFRED ADLER.

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